



Innovations in NYC Health and Human Services Policy Adult Probation and Neighborhood Opportunity Network Initiative

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Overview

Probation is a court-imposed sentence that allows someone convicted of a crime—called a probationer—to remain in the community under the supervision of the probation department, subject to conditions (such as attending supervision meetings, not traveling out of state without permission, or refraining from excessive alcohol consumption or illegal drug use). Probation could also result from a suspended term of incarceration. The probationer can be sent to jail or prison by the court (a revocation of probation) if he or she fails to meet directed conditions or is newly arrested (technical violation) or convicted. The goal of a probation sentence is to provide the probationer with the opportunity to demonstrate that he or she can remain in the community successfully without committing a new offense. To bolster the likelihood of success, the probation department is tasked with providing or referring probationers to necessary services, such as employment counseling or substance abuse treatment. The probation department's work has enormous importance. Done effectively, it can make the city safer, by both turning around thousands of people's lives and steering them away from further criminal involvement, and by closely monitoring intransigent offenders to intervene before further harm is caused.

In New York State, probation is a county-level function, with the court playing a key role in setting conditions and determining who is revoked to jail or prison for violating those conditions. At the end of October 2013, there were more than 23,000 people on probation supervision in New York City. According to the Department of Probation (DOP), in 2011 about 64 percent of adults on probation supervision are sentenced on a felony conviction.

The DOP has recently implemented a series of reform initiatives to make supervision more responsive to the needs of probationers and the conditions of the local communities in which probation clients reside. Chief among these is the Neighborhood Opportunity Network (NeON). The NeON initiative aims to improve probation clients' outcomes and the culture of DOP by decentralizing probation supervision in communities with a high concentration of individuals on probation, connecting probation clients to services and opportunities in the communities in which they live, and building supportive relations between DOP and local communities.

This policy brief describes recent reform efforts in DOP, with a focus on the NeON initiative—its strengths, challenges, and opportunities. It also describes enhanced community-based services and other DOP reform initiatives—significant policy and practice changes on their own—and their role supporting the NeON initiative. The brief draws on interviews with members of the DOP executive leadership team, DOP staff involved in the design and implementation of the NeON initiative, and staff at several NeON sites; reviews of relevant literature; reviews of internal documents provided by DOP; and the expertise of the authors based on research and observations in the field.

Context and the Policy Problem

Probation departments have an explicit mandate to deliver community corrections, but have long been criticized for their lack of integration into the communities that they serve.¹ The predominant mode of probation is often described as fortress probation, in which probation offices are located downtown, by courthouses, often far from the communities where probationers live or work.² Home visits and other opportunities to interact with probation clients, their families, or employers outside of the central probation office are rare.³

In New York City, DOP operates central probation offices in each of the city's five boroughs, often in the vicinity of the court. Until the creation of the NeON initiative in 2011, the vast majority of probationers were required to report in-person to their borough's central office. This meant, for instance, that probationers who live in Harlem were required to report to the central office in lower Manhattan, which is at least a 30-minute train ride away. Furthermore, because each central office served the entire pool of clients in the borough, waiting rooms were often crowded and noisy.

Because supervision was centralized, probation officers were not always familiar with services and supports available in their clients' neighborhoods, nor about their quality. Despite this, they were still expected to make referrals. With few opportunities to interact with probationers outside of the office, officers also had a limited perspective on their clients and the environments in which they were living, their family circumstances, or other factors that might influence their likelihood of reoffending. Officers and policymakers saw centralization and a lack of place-based knowledge as impediments to effective casework, decreasing the likelihood that probationers would receive appropriate services and, in turn, the likelihood that they would successfully complete probation and avoid future contact with the criminal justice system.

Department of Probation Policy Responses

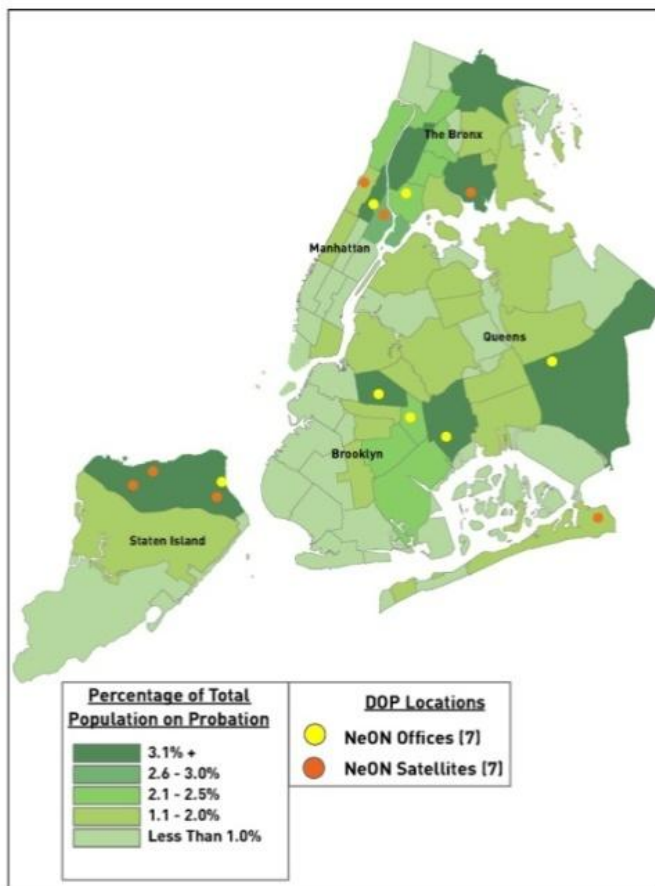
The policy responses discussed in this section focus on the NeON, followed by a brief description of the enhanced community-based services and other reform efforts initiated by DOP since 2010.

The NeON initiative was launched by DOP in August 2011 as a decentralized, community-based probation approach that is tailored to the unique needs of neighborhoods with a high concentration of individuals on probation. The NeON is intended for medium- and high-risk probationers, and its design is firmly rooted in the principles of community justice and justice reinvestment.

A *community justice* approach to probation relocates officers into the neighborhoods of the clients they serve, allowing them to work directly with those communities to develop formal and informal social controls to prevent crime and recidivism (such as implementing a formal peer-mentoring program or engaging the client's family for support); to identify and respond to issues of social need for offenders and the public (through measures such as drug treatment programs, GED classes, and assistance in gaining health insurance); and to promote reparations to victims and communities damaged by crime.⁴ By working within probationers' neighborhoods, officers are afforded greater opportunities to forge meaningful partnerships with local leaders, service providers, employers, and the police. In a sense, the neighborhood becomes a client, along with the probation client.

Figure 1

Concentration of probation clients and NeON locations



Source: New York City Department of Probation
Data on September 30, 2013

Justice reinvestment is designed to reduce both the number of people in the correctional system and the budgets spent to incarcerate or supervise them by redirecting public resources to neighborhoods where criminal justice is often the dominant government presence. DOP's approach in launching the NeON was to build the initiative from the ground up through partnerships with local providers and community organizations.

The NeON approach is a change in both the place and the manner in which probation services are delivered—one that deemphasizes probation's "bunker mentality" and prioritizes community involvement as a means to client success.⁵ "It's not just about creating offices that are located much closer to where people on probation actually live and work, although that is very important," said Deputy Mayor Linda Gibbs. "It's also about connecting them to nearby partner organizations that can help them get a job, further their education, improve their health, and strengthen their family and neighborhood."⁶

Changes to Supervision

The NeON initiative prioritizes three core components of effective supervision: client engagement, network building with local organizations, and community engagement. By strengthening these components of

supervision, DOP anticipates that probation will be more useful for clients and improve their long-term outcomes while transforming the culture of DOP and enriching the roles of probation officers.

- *Client engagement.* At the core of client engagement is enhancing the way in which officers interact with each client. NeON officers have been trained in a variety of techniques for improving client interactions and promoting client investment in supervision goals. One such technique is motivational interviewing—a structured form of communication that leads the client to disclose the things and people that matter to him or her, and then builds on that to engage the client in setting and achieving goals in treatment and supervision. This is further strengthened by increased opportunities for officers to see clients outside of probation offices and to learn more about their families and environments. Probation officers are directed to find resources and services that will address each client’s risk of reoffending as determined by a statistically validated risk and needs assessment tool.
- *Local network-building.* NeON officers build a local network by making field visits, building relationships with formal and informal resources in the community, and creating a supportive community for probation clients to rely on once their sentence is completed. The creation and placement of NeON satellites, co-located in community-based organizations, also help to build this local network and make it easier for probation officers to meet with clients.
- *Community engagement.* Community engagement occurs through meetings with elected officials, community leaders, local businesses, and religious and academic institutions at each site. As part of this effort, each NeON creates its own stakeholder group. These groups generally meet monthly and are composed of diverse members of the community, including residents, faith-based organizations and leaders, local neighborhood-association members, community activists, and in some cases, former or current probation clients and their family members. The composition of the stakeholder groups differs from site to site, but each acts as a resource for probation officers as well as a support group for probation clients.

“In the past, too much focus has been put on compliance,” said DOP Commissioner Vincent Schiraldi. “We’re looking at ways we can change that, focus more on clients’ needs, and connect them to resources that will continue to benefit them after we’re out their lives.”⁷

Changes in the Physical Structure

NeON sites look quite different from the typical centralized probation office. They have a more welcoming layout, a resource hub with information about benefits and services for which individuals (both probationers and non-probationers) may be eligible, and space where community-based organizations can meet with probation clients. For example, the Staten Island NeON painted its waiting area in bright colors and put in a library where probation clients can lend and borrow books. The South Bronx NeON completely revamped the appearance of the probation office. The traditional waiting space was replaced with a more open waiting area, and space was provided for community-wide services such as GED classes, assistance with signing up for health care coverage, employment counseling, and even a weekly poetry writing and reading class.

NeON pilot sites were selected by DOP based on areas with high concentrations of probationers, the availability of community-based resources, and the presence of other organizations that serve DOP’s clients). The first NeON was launched in Brownsville in December 2011. In 2012, NeON sites opened in East New York,

Central Harlem, South Jamaica, Staten Island, and the South Bronx. In addition to these, DOP has established seven satellite NeON offices in strategic community-based locations that allow DOP to co-locate with other service providers. At the end of 2013, DOP opened an additional NeON site in Bedford-Stuyvesant. Figure 2 presents the distribution of probation clients by their supervision level.

About 70 percent of all probation clients who were assessed to be less likely to commit new crimes and most likely to follow the court and DOP orders (low-risk probationers) routinely report to computer kiosks instead of an officer. About 10 percent of probationers are assigned to a NeON office or satellite. This represents about half of all probationers who are medium and high risk—called Client Development probationers—and about 50 percent of all probationers directly supervised by a probation officer.

Figure 3 presents the distribution of NeON probation clients, by site.

Community-Based Services

Research suggests that placing social-service providers within communities of need can lower recidivism rates. Even after accounting for individual differences, such as crime severity and age, offenders in disadvantaged neighborhoods recidivate at higher rates than those in communities with better resources. This suggests that access to, and use of, social services could decrease levels of reoffending.⁸ In order to be responsive to the neighborhood's needs, a community justice approach requires that service delivery is localized and flexible—rather than centrally determined—and solicits and uses the input of community members.⁹

The NeON initiative was part of, and rolled out at the same time as, the Mayor's Young Men's Initiative (YMI). YMI is a three-year initiative in partnership with 14 city agencies and institutions that was launched in 2011 with the goal of tackling the disparities between young black and Latino males and their white peers in education, health, employment, and justice.¹⁰ YMI is one of a series of programs supported by the city, Bloomberg Philanthropies, and the Open Society Foundations to improve crucial aspects of life for young men of color in New York.¹¹ Some of the YMI programs that are run by DOP provide services specifically to clients who live in NeON communities (for example, Arches, Community Education Pathways to Success, Justice Community, Justice Scholars, and Advocate Intervene Mentor). Others (such as Every Child Has an Opportunity to Excel and Succeed) are probation-wide programs.¹² These are described briefly below.

- *Arches* is a group mentoring program that uses an evidence-based curriculum that incorporates cognitive behavioral principles. Run by community organizations under contract with DOP in all five boroughs, the program's primary goals are to interrupt the patterns of thinking that often underlie criminal activity and to help participants develop supportive connections with peers and mentors. The work is conducted in a pro-social setting that incorporates positive youth development values, principles, and practices. Youth are paid a stipend to participate in the program.
- *Community Education Pathways to Success* (CEPS) focuses on raising the literacy level of young adults on probation. With the goal of assisting clients to obtain a GED, CEPS offers personal support and career development in addition to education. CEPS is available at the NeON sites in Brownsville, Harlem, Jamaica, East New York, and the South Bronx.

- *Justice Community* provides subsidized jobs to youth working on community benefit projects. The goal is to engage young adults in work projects that directly benefit the safety and health of their communities while also building participants' skills, their standing in their community, and their knowledge of their legal rights in relation to education and employment. Justice Community is available at the NeON sites in the Bronx, Brooklyn, Manhattan, and Queens.
- *Justice Scholars* combines a multiple-track program—including GED preparation, developmental education, and post-secondary education preparation—with other services to motivate and assist justice-involved youth to continue their education. Justice Scholars is available at the NeON sites in the Bronx, Brooklyn, Manhattan, and Queens.
- *Advocate Intervene Mentor (AIM)* is a mentoring and advocacy program for youth aged 13 to 18 who are on probation and who reside in NeON neighborhoods. Each youth is partnered with an advocate who acts as a mentor and as a connection to resources in the community.
- *Every Child Has an Opportunity to Excel and Succeed (ECHOES)* is an alternative-to-placement program for probation clients 14 and older who have been adjudicated and are at risk for placement in a secure facility. This program connects clients with paid externships and an adult life coach. ECHOES is located in Manhattan and Queens and available to youth on probation citywide.

Other DOP Reforms

Since 2010, DOP has launched a series of broad reform efforts aimed at transforming probation supervision in the city under the rubric of “Doing No Harm, Doing More Good, and Doing it in the Community.”¹³ NeON builds on and makes critical use of these other initiatives.

The foundation of effective evidence-based practices in supervision, “doing more good,” is the use of a validated risk and needs assessment instrument to drive decisions ranging from the required intensity of supervision to the services and interventions that the individual needs to desist from crime.¹⁴ The DOP has adopted the Level of Service Inventory–Revised (LSI-R), a validated assessment tool which screens for risk factors like criminal history, and attitudes such as anti-social thinking that can enhance an individual’s propensity to commit crime (known as criminogenic needs). DOP uses a short version of the tool, consisting of eight questions (LSI-R: SV), at investigations and intake to assign clients to appropriate supervision levels. The long version of the tool, consisting of 54 questions, is used on high-risk clients once they reach supervision. According to DOP, since the rollout of the risk assessment instruments in December 2012 and through the end of October 2013, more than 5,000 new probation clients have been assessed with the screener version (LSI-R:SV), and more than 400 have been administered the full version (LSI-R). The results of the LSI-R assessment are used to inform the development of individualized achievement plans (referred to as IAPs). Service plans tailored to each probationer’s risks, criminogenic needs, and interests are more likely to keep clients engaged in programming and thus increase their chances for successful completion of their probation terms.

DOP has also stepped up its early discharge from probation program. Evidence shows that incentives are a better motivator of behavior change than punishments or threats of punishment, and early discharge is a powerful incentive.¹⁵ According to DOP, between 2007 and 2012 the percentage of probationers discharged early in New York City increased from 3 percent to 17 percent. And only 3 percent of those discharged early during 2010 were rearrested for a felony within a year of their discharge.

The principle of “doing no harm” refers to reducing technical violations of probation that could result in incarceration and mitigating some of the collateral consequences of a criminal conviction—from employment and housing barriers to non-legal, simple discrimination. Discrimination can result from erroneous information on clients’ criminal records. Landlords, would-be employers, and other officials can also mistakenly consider arrests and warrants to be the same as a conviction.

DOP has reduced the use of incarceration for technical violations of probation conditions and minor arrests.¹⁶ According to DOP, by using graduated sanctions and rehabilitative programs instead of incarceration, it has reduced probation violations by 45 percent since 2009. Between 2009 and 2013, the number of probationers sent to jail for a probation violation dropped from 2,420 to 1,162—a decrease of about 52 percent.

DOP has also taken on the unusual role of advocate for its clients in their attempts to regain or maintain their rights and clean up their records. DOP helps clients with minor felony records apply for Certificates of Relief from Disability from the sentencing courts. These certificates provide a statement from the court that the person bearing it is in good standing in the community. Similarly, DOP assists clients in getting authorities to fix clerical errors or other mistakes on their criminal records, often allowing a probation client to stay in city-owned housing, receive educational assistance, and obtain employment.

To further assist clients with rebuilding their lives, DOP is in the process of administratively vacating warrants for those with non-violent misdemeanors and felonies after 10 and 15 years, respectively. Such warrants can cause a person who is otherwise leading a law-abiding life to be arrested and taken to jail if it is discovered at any time, such as at a traffic stop or checkpoint. According to DOP, in the first year of presenting warrant cases for resolution in the New York City courts, approximately 1,000 warrants have been resolved through DOP’s Warrants Program.

Meanwhile, the agency is shifting its attention toward finding violent felony offenders with warrants. As part of this effort they are strengthening a specialized intelligence unit that tracks down such offenders. According to DOP, more than half (52 percent) of the individuals with violent felony convictions who have warrants less than two years old (DOP’s target) have been brought to justice through the Warrants Program since its inception in 2012.

The NeON initiative is a strong expression of DOP’s commitment to “doing it in the community.” With their location, directive to build neighborhood partnerships, creation of satellite offices, and their contracts with community-based nonprofits, these efforts are moving probation ever closer to their clients’ lives.

Looking Ahead: Challenges and Opportunities

The NeON initiative and other DOP reforms indicate a fundamental change in the way DOP operates. Interviews suggest that probation officers are now more engaged with their clients, able to conduct more home visits, and more involved with the broader community in which they operate. Similarly, interviews with stakeholders outside of probation suggest that probation officers are now more likely to collaborate on community events and projects.

While DOP has managed to resolve or mitigate many of the challenges related to the NeON implementation some challenges persist.

Changing Organizational Culture

Changing the institutional culture of the DOP in the ways that the NeON model demands has been a central challenge during implementation of the initiative. The NeON model changes many of the ways that probation conducts its business, from its goals to the location of offices. Furthermore, the NeON seeks to change interactions between probation officers and their clients, a somewhat intangible reform that is difficult to implement broadly in a short time and whose impact is even harder to measure objectively. Probation has tackled this challenge through extensive trainings on restorative justice, motivational interviewing, and community engagement.¹⁷ Many probation officers interviewed by Vera staff felt these trainings were burdensome and duplicative; given those attitudes, it seems likely that these practices are not being implemented consistently. For probation officers who have seen several new initiatives rolled out in past years, only to be abandoned a few years later, it may take time to fundamentally change the mode of operation among longer-tenured staff and establish them firmly as part of a routine approach to the work. However, using the new tools and strategies is critical to DOP's long-term success. Continued support from the new mayoral administration may help to solidify practice changes and strengthen the cultural shift across DOP.

Developing Probation Officers' Investment and Ownership

For NeON sites to succeed and thrive over the long term, probation officers must have a sense of ownership of the NeON they are assigned to. Officers' on-the-ground experiences make them valuable sources of information about the communities in which they operate. Giving officers a role in shaping the NeON sites as each one evolves would translate that knowledge into strategic information for DOP. Engaging officers in the development of NeON sites could enhance their desire to advocate for the needs of *their* neighborhood and allow them to play a role in choosing and designing the programs and resources for *their* NeON clients. Officers would also be able to represent the problems they see and participate in problem-solving. The hierarchical structure of DOP, as in most criminal justice agencies, can be a challenge to line officers participating in this type of site-level planning and development. NeON stakeholder groups may need to be matched by an officer advisory group.

Communicating Clearly Internally

A challenge related to department-wide ownership of the NeON is the extent to which probation officers across NeON sites and the entire agency have been adequately (and, perhaps, repeatedly) briefed on the program's purpose and goals. In interviews at multiple NeON sites, probation officers put forward varying definitions of the NeON model, and few could articulate the initiative's long-term goals. Given that NeON's success rests on these individual probation officers, the lack of clarity within probation about the definition and purpose of the NeON is a challenge. Additionally, the creation of the NeON model and the publicity and attention it has received may have created a perception, within DOP and externally, that NeON sites and their officers are lauded while officers remaining at non-NeON sites receive little praise. Attention is needed to provide high-quality training and tools and to set high expectations for all officers. A system should be created that rewards officers across the agency for their success in helping probationers succeed.

The Evolving Nature of the NeON Model

Although many facets of the NeON initiative are well-established in the research literature, DOP implemented the initiative without a detailed program model, allowing each NeON site to develop organically around the needs and resources of the community and its probationers. For example, the composition and role of the community stakeholder groups vary across NeON sites, as do the services offered. This means, however, that there is no standard operating manual for a NeON site to fall back on. While this may have been a reasonable

approach to initiating a program of this nature, it is a challenge for a profession that is used to doing things “by the book,” for reasons of liability, accountability, and public safety. This suggests the need to strike a balance between the current organic, bottom-up development and structural guidelines. Developing a framework of minimum model elements to be included at each NeON site would support future program replicability, the development of performance measures, and future evaluation.

Selling the NeON Initiative to the Community

While most community members likely understand intuitively that there are people on probation in their neighborhood, the prospect of an identifiable probation office in their midst has caused concern for some. Probation administrators found that acquiring office space in communities and negotiating political, logistical, and procurement hurdles was time-consuming. Securing needed approval from community boards was an arduous process and sometimes met with resistance, although such approval was ultimately garnered for all the NeON offices and satellites. Going forward, community members from more experienced NeON sites must be able to communicate their knowledge and experiences to potential new sites, describing and celebrating the assets that the NeON initiative has brought to their neighborhoods. Ongoing citywide NeON stakeholder meetings could serve as a vehicle for knowledge transfer.

Developing the Capacity of Neighborhood Service Providers

The effectiveness of the NeON approach depends on the capacity of local organizations to deliver high-quality services that are responsive to the needs of the community. However, existing community-based organizations sometimes lack some of the elements needed to provide assistance. Organizations willing to provide services for their local NeON may not have the knowledge or capacity to apply and win a city contract. The DOP has a strong interest in building and improving local capacity. It has, in some cases, provided consultants to help local programs meet DOP’s standards and has created efforts like the Arches Learning Community—which regularly brings all Arches providers together to discuss and critique new models that they are pioneering—to address the capacity-building challenge. DOP will need assistance from other city agencies, however, to achieve this more systematically.

Evaluating Results

The intended impact of the NeON is far-reaching. It includes changing the culture and operations of probation offices as well as community perceptions about their role in integrating probationers into the community, and improving the long-term outcomes of probation clients. The newness of the program and its ambitious goals mean that the impact will take time to determine. Initial outcomes reported by DOP reveal that overall six-month rearrest rates following probation intake were somewhat similar among medium- and high-risk probationers assigned to a NeON site (21.1 percent), compared to probationers with similar risk levels who were assigned to a traditional probation caseload (23.3 percent). However, six-month rearrest rates were lower among 16- to 24-year-olds from the same risk group assigned to a NeON site (25.6 percent), compared to those assigned to a traditional probation caseload (33.1 percent). DOP speculates that the improved outcomes among 16- to 24-year-olds are partially the result of the substantial resources targeted toward them through YMI. While the design and implementation of the NeON initiative are being examined by researchers from John Jay College of Criminal Justice, rigorous outcome and impact evaluations will be needed once the NeON model has stabilized.

Sustainability

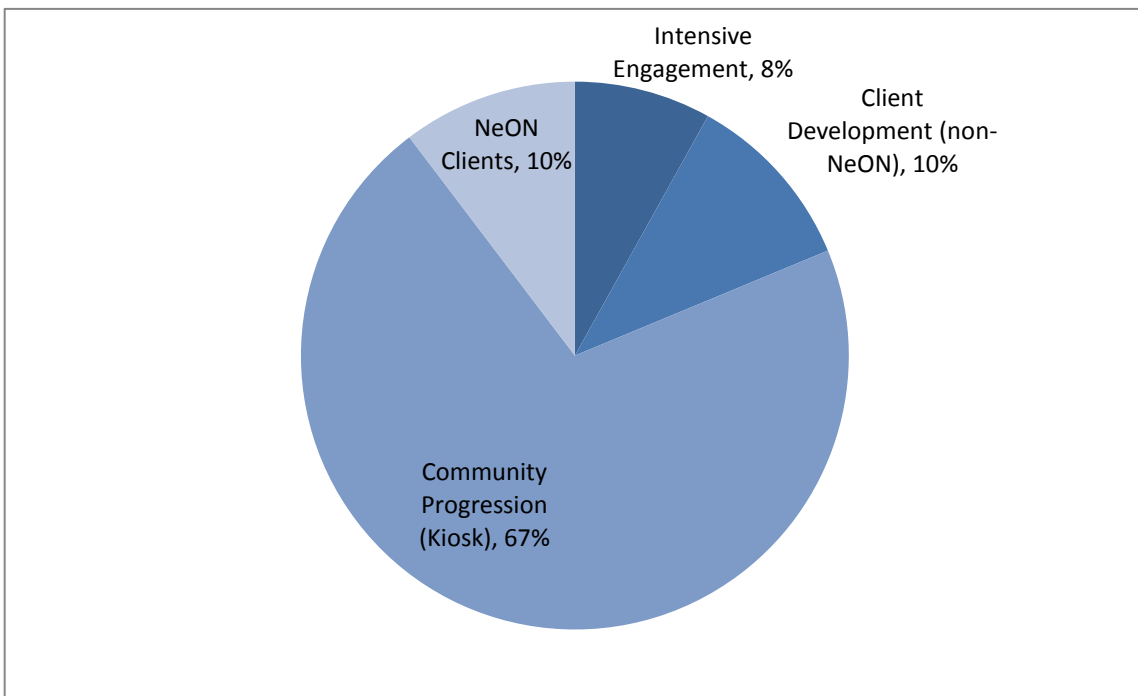
Economic and political sustainability are perhaps the biggest challenges that the NeON and other DOP initiatives face. City funding will support the cost of current and future NeON sites through the leases

required for office space and current staff salaries. At NeON sites, however, many services (such as Arches and CEPS) are provided to clients through partnerships with YMI programs and funded by philanthropy. If YMI funds are not renewed, the NeON sites would be left with a significant service gap. Other programs, such as Justice Scholars and Justice Community, are funded through a city tax levy. Their continuation will be dependent on support from the city council and the next mayoral administration.

Like all such ambitious and transformative efforts, the development of the NeON initiative has been challenging. From neighborhood resistance to officer resistance, acquiring new tools and training staff in their use, creating partnerships with community nonprofits and co-locating with some of them, there has been a constant effort to put all of the pieces in place. The success of the NeON initiative will ultimately depend on three factors: (1) The continuing empowerment and buy-in of line staff and their supervisors; (2) the identification of resources to continue the services (and the stipends to keep probationers engaged with them) that are needed to reduce recidivism; and (3) the political will of the next administration to allow this developing effort to continue and grow.

Figure 2

New York City Probation Clients by Supervision Level



Source: New York City Department of Probation

Note: Total number of probation clients on October 31, 2013 was 23,748

Figure 3

Probation Clients Assigned to NeON Offices and Satellites

Site	Number Probation Clients	Percent
Brownsville NeON	139	6%
East New York NeON	178	8%
Bedford-Stuyvesant NeON	151	7%
South Jamaica NeON	164	7%
South Bronx NeON	783	34%
Staten Island NeON	164	7%
Harlem NeON	122	5%
Far Rockaway Satellite	83	4%
Castle Hill Satellite	210	9%
Daytop Village Satellite	41	2%
Camelot Satellite	35	2%
Fortune Society Satellite	82	4%
Exodus Transitional Community Satellite	116	5%
YMCA Satellite	41	2%
Total Adult Probation NeON Clients	2,309	100%

Source: New York City Department of Probation. Data on October 31, 2013

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Endnotes

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- ¹³ Susan Tucker, "Neighborhood Opportunity Network: Transforming Probation," *Perspectives: The Journal of the American Probation and Parole Association*, 37, no. 4 (2013): 55-77.
- ¹⁴ E.g. Latessa, E.J. and Lovins, B. (2010). "The role of offender risk assessment: A policy maker guide." *Victims and Offenders*, 5, 203-219; Lowenkamp, C.T., Latessa, E.J., and Holsinger, A.M. (2006). "The risk principle in action: What have we learned from 13,676 offenders and 97 correctional programs?" *Crime and Delinquency*, 52(1), 77-93.
- ¹⁵ See: Wodahl, E.J., Garland, B., Culhane, S.E., and McCarty, W.P. (2011). "Utilizing Behavioral Interventions to Improve Supervision Outcomes in Community-Based Corrections." *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 38, 386-405; and Petersilia, J. (2007). "Employ behavioral contracting for 'earned discharge' parole." *Criminology and Public Policy*, 6, 4: 807-814.
- ¹⁶ A technical violation of probation is misbehavior by an offender under supervision (e.g., failing to report for a scheduled office visit, lack of employment, or testing positive for drug or alcohol use). These by themselves are not criminal offenses but if they are committed while a person is on probation could result in re-imprisonment.
- ¹⁷ Restorative justice is an approach to justice that seeks to engage the offender in taking action to restore some of the damage caused by his or her crime to individuals or the community, and to be, in turn, restored to good standing by those harmed.